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Covert racial discrimination of college basketball announcers language comments

Stephen Michael Strout
San Jose State University

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**Covert racial discrimination of college basketball announcers
language comments**

Strout, Stephen Michael, M.A.

San Jose State University, 1992

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COVERT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
OF COLLEGE BASKETBALL ANNOUNCERS
LANGUAGE COMMENTS

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Human Performance

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

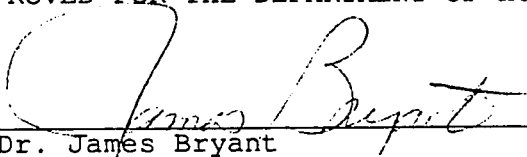
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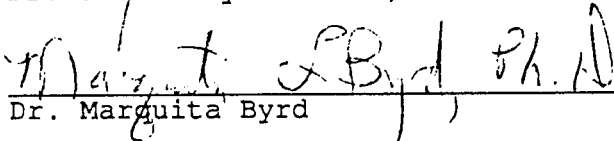
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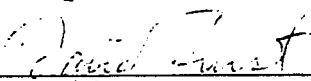
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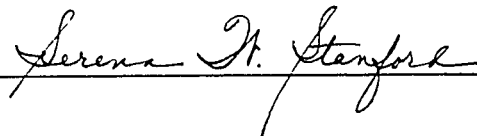
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ABSTRACT

Covert Racial Discrimination of College Basketball Television Announcers Language Comments

by Stephen M. Strout

Covert racial discrimination is the discrimination that is not easily observable. Announcers for professional football were found to use language that displayed covert racism when describing the play of the athletes (Rainville & McCormick, 1977). The purpose of this study was to analyze covert racism in the language of college basketball announcers. Two observers charted comments made by announcers on two games that 10 white and 10 black selected players participated. The comments were placed into one of 25 categories on a chart modified from Rainville and McCormick (1977). The data were analyzed by a chi-square, rating frequency, and subjectively from representative comments. The null hypothesis was rejected in two of the categories. There were trends toward covert racism in 15 of the 25 categories based on rating frequencies.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

From its inception, the United States has been a society shaped by racial conflict (Staples & Jones, 1985). The media has portrayed blacks, the most oppressed race, in ways which reinforce the image of white superiority and black inferiority, the purpose of which has been the stabilization of status quo relations between the races (Staples & Jones, 1985). While this phenomenon has characterized the history of the U.S. cinema and the music industry, the mass access to television has multiplied the negative media image of black Americans a thousand fold (Staples, 1987).

Television images can have significant impact on people's conceptions of themselves, their families, and people of all races and nations (Jackson, 1982). Essentially, contemptuous images of blacks on television create or reinforce contemptuous beliefs about blacks, causing or allowing the rationalization of this treatment of blacks by whites and even by other blacks (Jackson, 1982).

During the early 1970s black athletes became stars of television documentary events and sporting events (Staples & Jones, 1985). Still, the impact of black domination in the sports arena was counteracted by the racist interpretation of their performance by an all white group of announcers (Staples & Jones, 1985). Black excellence on the field was interpreted as a function of genetically endowed skills while

whites were praised as being leaders, hard workers and intelligent performers (Rainville & McCormick, 1977; Staples & Jones, 1985).

Even today the dominance and progress of black men in baseball, basketball and football is diminished by racial discrimination in media treatment of black athletes, segregation in football positions, and lack of opportunities for blacks as managers or in front office positions in sports organizations (Staples, 1985).

The persistence of the race problem, combined with the selective "invisibility" of the black American, has created a white "double consciousness" of the black presence in American society (Winston, 1982). "Inner city," for example, is used to describe areas that blacks have inhabited by becoming the victims of economic decline. This subtle double consciousness, or covert double standard, helps to explain why television has failed more than the print media to reflect social reality as far as race is concerned and gives false or stereotypical images of blacks and other minorities (Winston, 1982).

Rainville, Roberts and Sweet (1977) studied recognition of covert racial prejudice associated with sports broadcasting. The study demonstrated that the naive observer can detect racial prejudice in announcers' language, even

when all the clues to the personal and racial identity of the players have been removed from the language.

Rainville and McCormick (1977) also attempted to measure covert forms of prejudice in television broadcasts of nationally televised football games. The analysis revealed that white announcers were covertly prejudiced against black players by using more favorable descriptions for white players and less favorable ones for black players. This was characterized as covert prejudice because none of the particular instances of language involved in this pattern by itself is prejudiced (Rainville, et al. 1977).

Jackson (1989) had graduate students analyze seven National Football League games in detail for stereotypes. Jackson, a reporter for the *Boston Globe* also had the students analyze five college basketball games, including three from the 1989 NCAA "Final Four" National Championships. He discovered that blacks were complimented more for their brawn and whites were complimented for their brains. Of all the comments made on poor decisions by the athletes, blacks received 90% of these "dunce" comments (Jackson, 1989).

Whites and blacks are not treated equally in American print and electronic media. Some of this treatment is intentional and some is not. It is the unintentional racism associated with stereotyping that is important to investigate

to determine whether it is being used to describe athletic performances.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine the degree of covert racial prejudice in the speech and language patterns of announcers broadcasting intercollegiate basketball through the television media. Based on the purpose of the study the Null Hypothesis is: There will be no differences in college basketball announcers verbal language comments in their treatment of black and white players.

Need for the Study

The minimal amount of research conducted on unintentional and subtle racism in the depiction of athletes indicate that racism and stereotyping are consistently present. Studies on television by Rainville and McCormick (1977) and Maguire and Wozniac (1987), and Jackson's (1989) newspaper investigation support this concept and it is evident by the minute amount of research that this area needs to be investigated further. This study will serve the following needs:

1. Understanding of racial prejudice, or lack of racial prejudice, in the television media as related to sports.

2. Effort to confirm proper and improper broadcast/language forms and to identify proper and improper forms for sports announcing.

3. Contribution to an already large sport-racism research category and a considerably limited sports broadcasting research category.

Delimitations

This study was delimited to the speech patterns and language of play-by-play and color commentators on 23 NCAA Division I intercollegiate basketball games televised during the 1991-1992 season on American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Entertainment Sports Programming Network (ESPN), and Sports Channel Pacific. This study was restricted to the comments made by play-by-play and color commentators about selected white and black men's college basketball players.

Limitations

The results of this study may have been limited by these factors:

1. The ability of the trained observers to interpret announcers' remarks without bias.

2. The attitude of the trained observers during viewing periods.

3. The performance and effort of each collegiate basketball player during each game.

Assumptions

This study was conducted under the assumption of the following points:

1. The trained observers understood the viewing requirements and followed them accordingly.
2. The verbal comments made by the announcers represented their spontaneous, unbiased opinion.
3. The researcher was knowledgeable in this area and was able to train observers on the use of the instrument.

Definition of Terms

This section provides operational definitions to words used in the research investigation.

Black: a player who has the visible physical characteristics of a black person as described by American society.

Center: a frontcourt player who scores from the inside, rebounds and blocks shots; usually the tallest starter on his team.

Covert: not openly and easily observable (Stein, 1980).

Discrimination: making a distinction in favor of or against a person on the basis of prejudice (Stein, 1980).

Overtime: an extra period of play used when a game ends in a tie.

Point Guard: a backcourt player who handles the basketball frequently and generally directs the offense; usually the smallest starter on his team.

Power Forward: a frontcourt player who scores from the inside and outside; a combination of a center and small forward; usually the second tallest starter on his team.

Prejudice: an unfavorable opinion formed without knowledge (Stein, 1980),

Selected Players: black and white players who play the same position and are selected based on comparable statistical performances.

Shooting Guard: a backcourt player who handles the ball and usually scores from the perimeter; usually one of the smaller starters.

Small Forward: a frontcourt player who usually scores from the perimeter; usually slightly taller than the shooting guard.

Stereotype: certain generalizations reached by individuals that create societal expectancies.

White: a player who has the visible physical characteristics of a white person as described in American society.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The treatment of blacks represents a problem for all Americans. This chapter contains the review of relevant literature in areas related to racial discrimination and the portrayal and treatment of blacks and minorities as related to sport and the media. There has been little research on racial prejudice associated with the media and even less research on covert racial prejudice in sports. The main areas reviewed below are: racism and the portrayal of minorities associated with sports on television; racism and the portrayal of minorities associated with television; racism and the portrayal of minorities associated with sports pages and magazines; and racism and the portrayal of minorities associated with newspapers and magazines.

Racism and Portrayal of Minorities on Television-Sports

Rainville et al.(1977) studied recognition of covert racial prejudice. They chose 90 white undergraduates and 90 black undergraduates as subjects. The subjects read transcripts of NFL games and were instructed to guess the racial identity of each player. Each name was disguised by the name John Smith for the player who was the subject of the announcer's speech in the transcript. The results showed that subjects were able to identify the correct race of the

player 55.77% of the time. Whites were correct 56.73% of the time and blacks 54.66% of the time in their observations. The study demonstrated that the naive observer can detect racial prejudice in announcers' speech, even when all the clues to the personal and racial identity of the players have been removed from the language (Rainville et al., 1977).

Rainville and McCormick (1977) attempted to measure covert forms of prejudice in television broadcasts of nationally televised football games. The analysis revealed that white announcers were covertly discriminating against black players by using more favorable descriptions for white players and less favorable ones for black players. Announcers used more favorable categories such as: play related praise, cognitive attribution and positive special focus when describing white players than when talking about black players. When talking about black players announcers frequently used descriptions that could be classified in the unfavorable category: negative speculation and unfavorable comparison. This was characterized as covert prejudice because none of the particular instances of speech involved in this pattern by itself was prejudice (Rainville et al., 1977). Jackson (1989) analyzed professional football and college basketball games and had similar conclusions when it came to praising whites for brains and blacks for brawn. The

analysis was completed by students from the University of Maryland.

Messner, Duncan, and Jensen (1991) analyzed the gendered language of televised sports. They found an indication of racial difference in the naming of basketball players by announcers in the 1989 Men's Final Four of the NCAA National Championships. Their findings also suggested that television sports commentators are utilizing a "hierarchy of naming." At the top of the hierarchy sit the white "men" always referred to by their last-name, followed by the first-named black "men."

Pierce (1980) looked at subtle indicators of racism in television and called them "trace contaminants." Television provides "trace elements" that to the white viewers may aid and sustain their behavior in interracial contacts. To the black viewer these trace elements may be debilitating or disabling. Pierce observed in basketball, football, and track and field that whites received more recognition from the announcers despite the blacks outperforming the whites. If a black player performed well, announcers modulated the praise or more likely shared with a white who had not performed as well.

No one suggests that current mainstream sports openly market racism and ethnic stereotyping. Yet this kind of commentary and behavior can be found in professional

wrestling. Maguire and Wozniak (1987) gathered data over a 12 month period using content analysis of televised professional wrestling. This analysis was primarily qualitative rather than quantitative. They concluded that racial and ethnic stereotypes may be so marketable that sports could simply be the expression of capitalist social formations. They also suggested that the racism in sport only reflects our present society as a whole.

While appearing on the ABC news show "Nightline" in April of 1987, Al Campanis, then the vice president of the Los Angeles Dodgers, was careless when making the statement that there were not more blacks in top management positions because they lacked the "necessities" for such jobs (Berkow, 1988). This could be perceived as a subtle indication of racism since Campanis did not intend to offend anyone with his remarks. He was simply responding to the questions without thinking, much like a basketball announcer. Campanis was later fired for these stereotyped remarks.

Jimmy "The Greek" Snyder articulated his views on professional sports and race before a Washington, D.C. camera in January of 1988 as reported by the *Washington Monthly* (Rowe, 1988). He mentioned that black athletes' success could be related to breeding practices during slavery. He was later fired for making these remarks that contained

subtle racism, even though research by Rowe (1988) supports this theory.

From the minimal amount of research conducted on racism in the depiction of athletes on television, intentional or unintentional racism clearly exists. The studies by Rainville and McCormick (1977), Rainville et al. (1977), Maguire and Wozniac (1987), and Messner et al. (1991) over a 14 year period support this conclusion.

Racism and Portrayal of Minorities in Television, Radio and Film

Much of the research related to blacks and television has focused on black Americans' use of the medium, the significance of the medium in black Americans lives, and how blacks are portrayed and how often they are portrayed in a particular way (stereotyping). This section will include research completed on the portrayal of blacks and minorities in the electronic media.

A recent survey of ABC television programming revealed that blacks are generally stereotyped, with 49 percent of all blacks playing roles of criminals, servants, entertainers, or athletes (Staples & Jones, 1985). Rarely are blacks portrayed as loving, sexual, sensitive, or cerebral people (Staples & Jones).

Gray (1986) critically examined black male images in prime-time entertainment to consider the significance of black male images and the representation of American race relations. The programs analyzed represented symbolic changes in the portrayal of black males in television situation comedy. In instances where racial issues were addressed, the issues were often presented as expressions of deviance and function to confirm existing definitions of normal middle-class experience (Gray, 1986).

Abelman (1989) conducted a comparison of black and white families as portrayed on religious and secular television programs. He concluded that there were few role models of the black family on national television and the underrepresentation of blacks on commercial television has been a concern of scholars and the general public.

A content analysis was conducted on a sample week of all national network television series regularly containing a black character and aired during prime time in the 1987 fall season (Stroman, Merritt & Matabane, 1989/1990). These programs portrayed blacks in a diversity of dramatic and comedy roles and settings. The casting of black actors, however, remained governed by many of the dominant myths about preferred social roles for blacks. (Stroman et al., 1989/1990).

Silk and Silk (1990) examined the portrayal of blacks in commercial films in the 1970s and the 1980s. They concluded that blacks were non-existent, token, or treated with subtle racism. Racist attitudes were found in movies like *Rocky*, *Star Wars* and *The Empire Strikes Back*. *The Deep* was yet another one of the popular movies that had unintentional racism in its script. Hollywood realized that films could be modified and directed to a wider audience. The old stereotypes could no longer be used, but the industry is still unwilling to treat black characters in any other way (Silk & Silk, 1990).

Dates (1990) concluded that the exclusion of blacks from programs in which they played significant roles, not the misportrayals, was the most insidious distortion. Such an exclusion reinforced the false but widely accepted notion that blacks have contributed little to the United States and are frequently recognized in American society only as "problems."

Dates (1990) also examined blacks' portrayal in public television. He found that in the 1940s and 1950s, public television had consistently denied black individuals opportunities to be involved in the system. He also determined that by the late 1980s the public broadcasting system at last included a variety of positive images of diverse groups.

The image of the black is stereotyped in the consumer market. Brown (Carter et al., 1982) stated that the stereotype image of blacks was first being developed in the film *Birth of a Nation* in 1916. The image of a "shuffling darky coon," Tom, was created to justify slavery. During this time period, stereotyped blacks were portrayed by whites. *Amos and Andy*, a popular television show and *The Johnson Family*, a popular radio show, had whites portraying blacks (Carter et al., 1982).

A *Harlem Family*, a dramatic radio series that aired in the 1930s, was one of the first programs that transcended the typical black stereotypes (Barlow, 1990). The series dealt with the trials and tribulations of an ordinary black family living in Harlem during the depression era. This gave the listener a perception that a majority of black families lived this way.

Gerson (1980) coded all "minority" and white characters in television dramas from nine sample weeks from 1970-1976. Of the 11,080 characters, 74.4% were males. Eighty-seven percent of the males were white. Gerson found that minority characters were frequently presented as being involved in violent or illegal activities.

Greenberg and Baptista-Fernandez (1980) examined the portrayal of Hispanic Americans on television from 1975-1978. Of the 53 characters observed, 31 were in serious roles (non-

comedy). Twenty-two of these 31 were portrayed as either law breakers or law enforcers.

Baptista-Fernandez and Greenberg (1980) examined a sample week of prime time and Saturday morning commercial television series taped in 1977. They found blacks to be portrayed visually as younger, leaner, funnier and flashier. Economically, they were poorer, jobless or in jobs below the top echelon.

Greenberg and Neuendorf (1980) analyzed black family interactions on television. They found that the dominant black family consisted of a single parent plus children. Only three of the 19 families observed were found to be nuclear families.

In summary, the portrayal of black Americans on television, film and radio reflects and reinforces the perceptions and understandings that white Americans have of black Americans and of their culture and social status. These portrayals help to shape the self-images and behaviors of blacks. These perceptions are the results of a historical set of socializing experiences (Berry, 1980). The research, however, is limited, thus suggesting there is a need for additional research to be conducted in this area.

Racism and Portrayal of Minorities in Newspapers and
Magazines-Sports

Many black athletes, both amateur and professional, believe that sportswriters have generally tended to downplay their accomplishments while giving excessive praise to their white counterparts. A large number of blacks feel that sports reporters do not always give credit where credit is due. There have been several studies done on the coverage black athletes receive compared to white athletes in the newspapers. Braddock (1978) studied all articles covering the basketball and football programs at the University of Maryland and Howard University that were printed in the sports pages of the *Washington Post* for a two year period. The data presented indicated quite clearly that black athletes' feelings of unfair treatment by the press may have been justifiable in the coverage of collegiate athletics (Braddock, 1978).

Pearman (1978) completed a content analysis of the sports page of a Pennsylvania newspaper for one year. He examined the coverage given to two state colleges, one predominantly white and one predominantly black. The findings of his study generally supported the belief that blacks receive a reduced share of sports page publicity (Pearman, 1978).

Condor and Anderson (1984) developed a longitudinal analysis of coverage accorded black and white athletes in feature articles of *Sports Illustrated* from 1960-1980. They found that coverage related to black athletes over the period investigated displayed close association with the stereotypes concerning black athletes. Written coverage of blacks was initially heavily associated with boxing, basketball, and track. Condor and Anderson added that it could be argued that it is not the media's role to undo stereotypes if the sport in question is dominated by athletes of one race or another. The media's role should be to cover any sporting event that they wish. They also suggested they need to realize that they are partially responsible for the intentional and subtle stereotype language used by our society when talking about sports.

Regoli (1991) looked at racism in baseball card collecting. The focus was the impact a player's race/ethnicity on the value of his rookie baseball card. Data on the race/ethnicity of 29 (17 white and 12 nonwhite) members of the Baseball Hall of Fame and the value of their rookie card were obtained. The principal finding of the study was that race/ethnicity and the value of a player's rookie baseball card were not related.

The studies completed by Braddock (1976), Pearman (1978), and Condor and Anderson (1984) demonstrate the

unequal treatment of blacks and minorities in the print media. This area of racism in the print media was extremely deficient in the amount of research conducted. This research was the only relevant related literature found by the researcher.

Racism and the Portrayal of Minorities in Newspapers and Magazines

Biases held by black and white reporters may be blinding them to objective assessments of events that they cover. Through the years, those who have read black press articles about various incidents have received very different images from those who only read the writings of general market press writers (Dates, 1990). Dates analyzed 23 articles published about a shooting incident involving a black individual who shot a white in self-defense as reported in seven newspapers. Eleven articles were negative toward the shooter. Of the 23 articles, seven were neutral coming from general press and black publications; of the five positive articles, four came from black publications or black writers (Dates, 1990).

The news media's coverage of crime has attracted a substantial amount of research attention in recent years. Standard American newspapers and broadcasters would deny that they are racist (Pritchard, 1985). However, their policies on reporting the news are indistinguishable from policies

that would deliberately exclude minorities from news of their own society and normal news of minorities from the rest of the population (Pritchard, 1985).

Pritchard (1985) analyzed homicides and their coverage in Milwaukee. The results of the analysis provided fairly strong support for the hypothesis that race influenced how the Milwaukee newspapers covered homicides. Contrary to the "cheap murder" notion, however, it was the race of the suspect, not the race of the victim, that best predicted how a homicide would be covered (Pritchard, 1985).

Bodenhausen and Lichenstein (1987) had subjects read information about a defendant in a criminal trial with initial instructions to judge either his guilt or his aggressiveness. The defendant was either Hispanic or ethnically non-descript. They concluded that the subjects used stereotypes as a central theme around which they organized presented evidence and ways to simplify judgements.

Grainey, Pollack and Kusmierck (1984) studied the coverage of three Chicago newspapers during the 1983 mayoral general election. It was a campaign between a black Democrat and a white Republican. Their content analysis demonstrated that although the newspapers carried stories which insisted that race should not become an issue, race became a major issue. Race received more coverage than traditional platform campaign issues combined.

Dodd, Foerch, and Anderson (1988) analyzed the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* from the past four decades to look at women and minorities as cover persons. Their data revealed that women and minorities have been greatly underrepresented relative to U.S. demographics. Women were portrayed in the entertainment field and minorities in sports when they appeared as cover persons.

Cartoons published in the weekly magazine *New Yorker* during the years 1946-1987 were analyzed to determine how often blacks appeared as characters and whether the proportion of blacks portrayed had changed over time (Thibodeau, 1989). Styles of portraying black characters changed markedly over the years, keeping with the changing status of blacks in the United States. Blacks appeared in cartoons in stereotype occupational roles and in "token" roles most of the time. Cartoons in the late 1960s and early 1970s were dominated by racial themes. In the 42 year period investigated, only a single black American appeared as a main character in a cartoon in which race was completely irrelevant.

Grainey et al. (1984), Pritchard (1985), Thibodeau (1989), and Dates (1990) have indicated that blacks and minorities are not treated equally in the print media as compared to whites. Blacks are often stereotyped and not given the benefits that whites would be given in similar

situations. This is another area that is weak in the amount of research completed.

Summary

In conclusion, this review has demonstrated that blacks and minorities are seldom portrayed by television or perceived by American society as treated equally. This was found to be true in sports as well as commercial television and print media. Stereotypes influence the way information is processed. It was also determined that there is clearly limited research completed related to television, minority discrimination and sport.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This methodology of the study was patterned after the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study on covert racial prejudice in professional football television announcers' language. College basketball announcers speech patterns were used for analysis in place of professional football announcers.

Subjects

Selection of Subjects

The subjects for this study were play-by-play announcers and color commentators of college basketball network television broadcasts. These subjects covered Division I Men's basketball games during the 1991-1992 season. Twenty-three games were videotaped for analysis of the language comments made by the subjects concerning 20 selected players. Each game was videotaped in its entirety from the following networks: American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Entertainment Sports Programming Network (ESPN), National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and SportsChannel Pacific. Games that went into overtime were excluded since there would be five extra minutes of play for the commentators to make comments about the selected players.

The announcers for these games who were assigned by the networks were not affiliated with any of the universities.

Focus on Subjects

The focus was placed on the language comments made by the play-by-play announcer and color commentator about each of the selected players. This was done through emphasizing the basic focus through the use of adjectives. The researcher was interested in significant differences in the language comments made about black and white players: e.g. was there a significant difference in praising the cognitive performances of whites compared to blacks?

Selected Players

Black and white Division I basketball players who could be matched on the basis of performance, statistics, and position were paired prior to the analysis. These players were paired by the researcher for the following positions: point guard, shooting guard, small forward, power forward, and center. The players paired had comparable statistics in each of the following categories: points per game, rebounds per game and assists per game. The statistics used to select paired players were based on games played in November and December of the 1991-1992 season. A tolerance factor was also used to select the players for analysis. The players had to have similar statistics in each category with a range

of ± 3 . Players with statistics that fit this criteria when paired were selected. See Table 1.

Table 1

Statistical Tolerance Levels

Subject	Points/Game	Rebounds/Game	Assists/Game
Player A	17	7	5
Player B	18	9	3
Tolerance \pm	1	2	2

Note. The \pm represents the tolerance level for each category.

The paired players also had to be starters for their respective universities and possess similar playing styles. Not pairing by playing style would create a conflict. For example, if a center who primarily was a post-up player was paired with a center who was primarily a perimeter player, comparing their different playing styles would not have provided any clear differences since these players were similar only in position name.

Four pairs were analyzed at each position for a total of 20 pairs (20 black and 20 white players). Two pairs were randomly selected from a pool of Division I players at each

of the positions for analysis (10 black and 10 white players). Any player who was injured was replaced by another player of the same position from the pool. These selected pairs were analyzed as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Selected Pairs

Position	Pairs	
<hr/>		
Point Guard:	Black #1	vs. White #1
	Black #2	vs. White #2
Shooting Guard:	Black #3	vs. White #3
	Black #4	vs. White #4
Small Forward:	Black #5	vs. White #5
	Black #6	vs. White #6
Power Forward:	Black #7	vs. White #7
	Black #8	vs. White #8
Center:	Black #9	vs. White #9
	Black #10	vs. White #10

The language comments made concerning the selected players were recorded and charted by two trained observers based on two games that each selected player participated. Again,

there were situations where more than one selected player appeared in the same game.

Observers

Selection of Observers

The researcher selected six individuals to be trained for the study. These were five white male and one black female basketball coaches and/or physical educators who had a knowledge and interest in college basketball. The observers were offered food and beverage during their viewing sessions. The six individuals then participated in a pilot study.

Training of the Observers

The six people chosen to be trained observers were trained by the investigator. Each received a chart (the instrument) and training to identify the language comments made by the play-by-play and color commentator concerning each selected player appearing in a videotape of a men's college basketball game (See Appendix A). The researcher explained the instrument and how to categorize each language comment made during the game, concerning the selected players, by showing portions of a videotaped men's college basketball game. Examples of comments were given for each category. Portions of a game were shown to provide further explanations and understanding. The videotape was stopped and replayed (for the comment in question) any time there was

a question on where to place a comment or why a particular comment fit in a certain category.

Observer Involvement with Pilot Study

In order to test the understanding of the trained observers ability to identify the language of the announcers, a pilot study was conducted with the observers charting language comments of two players. These players were selected at random by the investigator and were not included in the study. The observers viewed the game containing the selected players independently. The charted language comments of the announcer/color commentator for each selected player in the videotaped game were charted by the trained observers and compared to those charted by the researcher.

The two observers who demonstrated the greatest understanding were selected to participate in the study. Their reliability was compared to the researcher and measured using coefficient alpha (see Table 2). Any observer dropping out would be replaced by the observer with the next highest rating.

Table 2

Coefficient Alpha

$$r = \frac{(k)}{(k-1)} \frac{S_x^2 - \sum S_j^2}{S_x^2}$$

Instrument

Announcers' comments from the videotaped games were placed into one of 25 categories grouped into three classes on an observer language comment chart supplied by the researcher (See Appendix A). These categories and classes were based on those used by Rainville and McCormick (1977) and were modified to fit college basketball. The three classes were identified as the description class, the attribution class, and the announcer-related class.

Description Class

The description class included categories applied to language comments made by the announcers with the intention of communicating factual information about the player and his activities. In the description class, there were 12 categories. See Figure 2.

Attribution Class

The attribution class included categories which were applied to language comments made by the announcers which inferred that the cause of a play was related to some personal aspect of the player. In the attribution class, there were seven categories. See Figure 3.

Figure 2

Description Class

Category	Example
<u>play related praise</u>	"that was a great shot by Smith."
<u>play unrelated praise</u>	"Jones is a great student."
<u>play related criticism</u>	"that was terrible shot by Brown."
<u>play unrelated criticism</u>	"Smith is not a good student."
<u>reference to collegiate past achievement-positive</u>	"Brown was the tournament MVP last year."
<u>reference to non-collegiate past achievement-positive</u>	"Jones was an All-American in high school."
<u>reference to collegiate past achievement-negative</u>	"Smith shot the ball poorly last week."
<u>reference to non-collegiate past achievement-negative</u>	"Brown was academically ineligible his last semester in high school."
<u>recipient of aggression</u>	"Jones was really fouled hard on that play."
<u>executor of aggression</u>	"Jackson really shoved him hard on that play."
<u>favorable comparison</u>	"Smith outjumped Brown for that rebound."
<u>unfavorable comparison</u>	"Jones was out-jumped by Jackson."

Figure 3

Attribution Class

Category	Example
<u>physical attribution</u>	"Brown is a great athlete."
<u>cognitive attribution-positive</u>	"Jones is such a smart player."
<u>emotional attribution-positive</u>	"Jackson looks confident at the foul line."
<u>cognitive attribution-negative</u>	"that was a dumb play by Smith."
<u>emotional attribution-negative</u>	"Brown doesn't look ready for this game."
<u>motivation-positive</u>	"Jackson really plays his heart out."
<u>motivation-negative</u>	"Jones isn't giving that second effort."

Announcer-Related Class

The announcer-related class included categories which were applied to language comments made by the announcers in which the announcers established their personal influence or the influence of the media. The announcer related class included six categories. See Figure 4.

Figure 4

Announcer-Related Class

Category	Example
<u>sympathy</u>	"what a shame that Johnson can't convert his free throws."
<u>empathy</u>	"I know how Smith feels after that play."
<u>positive speculation</u>	"you know Brown is going to play well today."
<u>negative speculation</u>	"if Jones keeps missing, he's going to have a long afternoon."
<u>special focus-positive</u>	"let's look at that great play by Jackson again."
<u>special focus-negative</u>	"let's look at the traveling by Johnson again."

Procedure

The investigator provided the two trained observers selected to participate in the study with 40 charts (instruments), one for each game that each selected player appeared. The trained observers viewed each game independently. The announcers' language comments concerning the white and black players were assigned to categories by the trained observer based on the definition of each of the

classes. The observer also recorded the race of each announcer. Each language comment was marked on the charts with a "check" in the appropriate category. The comments made by the play-by-play commentator and color commentator were marked in separate columns (See Appendix A). Each comment was only placed in one category that the observers determined. When compound sentences were used as language comments, the comment in the first part of the sentence was charted. The language comments in pre-game, half-time, and post-game also were included. Each observer charted the language comments on separate charts for each game that each selected player participated.

Not every language comment was used. Language comments made by "sideline" or "in the stands" commentators were not charted. Only spontaneous remarks from the announcers that represented their portrayal of performances, not pre-planned pieces from other announcers, were considered relevant to the study. Some language comments, like "Jones missed the free throw," did not fit any category and were therefore omitted since these comments did not involve opinion.

The two trained observers watched each game individually and charted the language comments for each game on separate instruments. They were not made aware of each others charts. The mean of the charted language comments of the trained observers was then established for each category. This was

done by dividing the total number of comments in each category by 2. Numbers were rounded up whenever a number ended in .5. A chi-square analysis was then conducted using these numbers.

Experimental Design and Analysis

Chi-Square

The chi-square goodness-of-fit (one sample) statistic was used for objective evaluation of the recorded language comments. The "goodness-of-fit" is a test of whether or not a significant difference exists between the observed number of cases falling into each category, and the expected number of cases based on the null hypothesis. The chi-square method assumes that every observation is independent. The design is established so each comment falls into only one category. The chi-square analyzed significant differences between assigned categories at the $p < .001$ level. An alpha level of .05 was divided by 25 (the total number of categories) to get .002. There is no .002 level on the chi-square charts, so .001 was used. The null hypothesis was rejected if the chi-square value was higher than 10.828. Reliability between the observers was measured using coefficient alpha.

Each category was analyzed separately using the chi-square with four cells in each square. Two cells in each square were the same. This number would be the expected frequency of comments if no covert racism appeared, which was

the total number of comments observed in each category divided by two. The other cells were filled with the total number of language comments about the blacks and whites charted by the trained observers. Example: in the play-related praise category, if there were 140 total language comments, 53 charted for blacks and 87 for whites from both observers, then the numbers placed into the chi-square formula would be 53, 87, 70 and 70. See Table 3 and Figure 5.

Table 3

Chi-Square Example

	B	W
Frequency	<u>53</u>	<u>87</u>
Expected frequency	<u>70</u>	<u>70</u>

Figure 5

Chi-Square Formula

$$\text{Chi-square} = \frac{(f \text{ observed} - f \text{ expected})^2}{f \text{ expected}} + \frac{(f \text{ observed} - f \text{ expected})^2}{f \text{ expected}}$$

Note. f = frequency.

Rating Frequency

The language comments charted by the trained observers were also analyzed by their rating frequency based on the number of language comments for blacks and whites in each category. The percentage of comments for blacks and whites in each category was calculated. Example: in the cognitive attribution-positive category, if there were 200 total language comments charted by the observers, 50 for blacks and 150 for whites, the frequency was 25% for blacks and 75% for whites in this category. See Table 4.

Table 4

Rating Frequency

Total Comments	Total Black	% Black	Total White	% White
200	50	25	150	75

Representative Comments

The researcher recorded and subjectively analyzed language comments from the categories. These were comments that expressed subtle racism in the researcher's view. Example: "that kid sure possesses great athleticism" is a comment used to describe a black player with good athletic ability as represented in the physical attribution category.

Summary

The focus of this section was patterned after the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study. Six individuals were selected to be observers. The two with the greatest understanding charted language comments of announcers concerning selected players. The language comments of announcers were charted into one of the 25 categories on the instrument. The language comments charted in each category were analyzed for significant differences through chi-square. Rating frequencies and representative language comments from each category were also subjectively analyzed.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This study was constructed to determine covert racism in language comments used by college basketball announcers in NCAA men's games. The data were collected by two trained observers who observed 20 selected players from videotapes of 23 games. The data were analyzed for differences by chi-square, rating frequency, and subjectively from representative language comments. A pilot study was conducted and is discussed in this chapter. The results, analysis and discussion of the data are presented within the framework of the description, attribution, and announcer related classes. Trends of the announcers were also be discussed in this chapter.

Pilot Study

The results of the pilot study are presented and discussed briefly. The purposes of the pilot study were to test the trained observers and select the top two to participate in the investigation.

The six observers were trained and given a videotape containing two players to be observed. The language comments they charted were compared to those charted by the investigator. The investigator charted 84 language comments for the two selected players in the chosen games. The observer with the highest rating charted language comments with 98.8% accuracy and a reliability $R = .9990$. The

observer with the second highest rating charted comments with 97.6% accuracy and an $R = .9980$. These two observers, one black female and one white male, agreed to participate in the investigation. The four other observers that participated in the pilot study had reliability ratings of $R = .9735$, $.9421$, $.9370$, and $.9301$.

Primary Study

Observer Agreement

The two observers charted a total of 3256 language comments. Observer 1 charted 1636 language comments, which represented 50.25% of the total language comments, and observer 2 charted 1620 language comments, which represented 49.75% of the total language comments. The .50% difference between the observers was very low and the investigator accepted the two observers as very reliable. They had a reliability rating of $R = .9987$ on their total of charted language comments. The observers' charted language comments were also judged for accuracy by category. Appendix B shows the percentage of language comments each observer charted for blacks and whites in each category.

Observer 1 charted 825 "black comments" and 811 "white comments" compared to 825 and 796 by observer 2. The reliability was .9986 between the observers. There was a 1.00% difference in the language comments charted for whites. The reliability for white comments was .9989 between the

observers. Again, the charted language comments were judged for accuracy by each category. Appendix C shows the percentage of language comments for blacks in each category and Appendix D shows the percentage of language comments for whites in each category.

There were a total of 1640 language comments charted into 23 categories, based on the mean for each category from the observers charted comments. Eight-hundred-and-nine, 49.33%, of these language comments were charted for whites, and 831, 50.67%, were charted for blacks. Appendix E shows the percentage of language comments for blacks and whites in each category and the chi-square for each category.

Description Class

The description class was the group of categories where the announcers communicated factual information about the players. The null hypothesis was accepted in 11 of the description class categories. The null hypothesis was rejected in one of the categories.

Reference to collegiate past achievement (negative).

The null hypothesis was rejected in the reference to collegiate past achievement (negative) category. This is in contrast to the findings of Rainville and McCormick (1977), who accepted the null hypothesis in this category.

Blacks received 31 of the 37 comments in this category, which reflected on negative performances in prior games.

Although these comments represented only 1.87% of the total comments, blacks received 83.78% of the comments in this category. When analyzed using rating frequency this suggests that the announcers are more likely to make reference to previous bad performances of blacks than they do of whites. Rainville and McCormick (1977) found blacks and whites each received 50% of the comments in this category.

Play-related praise.

The null hypothesis was accepted in the play related praise category. Rainville and McCormick (1977) found significant statistical differences at the .05 level and rejected the null hypothesis. The chi-square number in this study was actually higher than in the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study, 6.5068 compared to 5.95, but the null hypothesis could not be rejected at the .001 level established in this study.

Whites received 56.64% of the 369 charted in this category. This represented 12.81% of the total comments charted in this study and suggests that whites are more likely to receive praise for their good play than blacks. The percentage of comments whites received in this category is higher than the percentage whites received in the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study. If rating frequency is used, based on the comparable percentage of comments with Rainville and McCormick (1977), it can be suggested that

there is a trend toward covert racism in this category. Whites did receive a higher number of comments in this category. This compares to Pierce (1980), who found whites to receive more praise than blacks, even when whites were outperformed by blacks. Braddock (1978) and Pearman (1978) also found whites to receive more praise than blacks when being covered in the print media.

The representative language used to praise each race was very similar. However, when analyzing the comments of selected paired players and viewing the videotapes, it was interesting to see that a white would frequently be praised three or more times for a single play. Rarely was more than one comment used to praise a black on a single play. When more than one comment was the used, the second comment frequently praised the black player's physical attributions. This compares to the findings of Jackson (1989) and could be similar to the comments made by Jimmie "The Greek" Snyder (Rowe, 1988). The announcers would more likely give multiple praise to a white player and discredit a black player's success by referring to physical attributions rather than give multiple praise.

Executor of aggression.

No significant statistical differences were discovered in this study and the null hypothesis was accepted.

Rainville and McCormick (1977) rejected the null hypothesis in the executor of aggression category at the .001 level.

Based on rating frequency, this study did find blacks to be the aggressors, with blacks receiving 65.71% of the 70 comments in this category. Blacks were more frequently referred to as executors of aggression.

The representative language comments in this category generally contained words such as "fouled hard," "shoved," "hacked," "pushed," and "hit." These comments were often made in reference to fouls or aggressive play. When a white committed a foul, it was usually described in one of three ways:

1. The announcer described the play as a foul, which would not be charted.
2. The announcer described the play using "push" or "shove," which would be charted as executor of aggression.
3. The announcer would credit the white player with good effort or hustle, which would be charted as motivation (positive). This could explain the trends toward covert racism in the executor of aggression and the motivation (positive) categories.

This compares to Pierce (1978) who found "trace contaminants" in the language used to describe blacks that was debilitating or disabling.

Unfavorable comparison.

No significant statistical differences were found in the unfavorable comparison category and the null hypothesis was accepted. Rainville and McCormick (1977) found significant differences in this category at the .05 level.

When comparing frequency ratings, however, blacks received 69.23% of the 39 comments charted in this category, which was higher than the 61% in the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study. This was a consistently high frequency rating which might suggest a trend that announcers are building negative reputations by unfavorably comparing blacks more than whites.

Other description class categories.

There were no statistical differences found in each of the other description class categories. Rainville and McCormick (1977) found significant differences at the .001 level in their reference to non-professional past achievement (negative) category, the equivalent to the reference to non-collegiate past achievement (negative) category in this study, and rejected the null hypothesis. The recipient of aggression category showed significant differences at .001 level in the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study, but was not statistically significant in this study.

There were frequency ratings that did convey trends toward covert racism. Based on the frequency rating of

comments per category, blacks were more likely to receive comments for play related criticism and reference to collegiate past achievement (positive). There might be trends toward covert racism in these categories.

It was interesting to note there were only three comments referring to play-unrelated praise, zero for play-unrelated criticism, and six for reference to non-collegiate past achievement (negative). The low number of comments in these could be explained by the patterns of announcers to describe the "off the court" lifestyles of professionals more than collegiate players.

Summary of description class.

Rainville and McCormick (1977) found significant differences in 5 of the 12 categories in the description class. This study found significant statistical differences in only one of these categories. Rainville and McCormick (1977) accepted the null hypothesis in the category that this study rejected. However, based on the frequency rating findings in this class, whites were more likely to receive play related praise from announcers and blacks were more likely to receive comments about prior negative performances, executing aggression, and unfavorable comparisons. The representative comments suggested there was a trend to compliment whites repeatedly for good play and describe blacks as executors of aggression.

Attribution Class

The attribution class included categories where the announcers commented on personal attributes of the players. The null hypothesis was rejected in one of the attribution class categories, the physical attribution category.

Physical attribution.

The physical attribution category was the only category with a significant statistical difference within the attribution class. Rainville and McCormick (1977) also found significant statistical difference in this category at the .001 level, and the null hypothesis was rejected.

Blacks received 68.52% of the 108 comments in this category, compared to 71% in the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study. Jackson (1989) found in professional football and college basketball that blacks were more likely to be praised for their "brawn" than whites. This suggested a trend toward covert racism when considering that one white player accounted for 17 of the 34 white comments in this study, while the other nine white players received 17 language comments.

Most of the representative language comments made about blacks in this category included words such as "athletic," "athleticism," "quickness," "agility," and "explosiveness." The comments made about whites generally referred to a

player's size or weight rather than physical skill. There was a difference in the rating frequency of comments charted in this category, and there was also an obvious difference in how the announcers applied comments to each race. This suggested that the announcers viewed blacks as successful in basketball because of their natural physical skills, rather than hard work and cognitive skills. This also could be related to the comments made by Jimmy "The Greek" Snyder (Rowe, 1988).

Motivation (positive).

The null hypothesis was accepted in the motivation (positive) category. Rainville and McCormick (1977) also accepted the null hypothesis in this category.

Although no significant statistical differences were found in this category, there were trends towards covert racism. Whites received 71.74% of the 46 comments charted in this category, compared to 51% in the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study. This suggested that whites were credited for outstanding hustle, extra effort and hard work. It could also be perceived that blacks were considered to not be hard workers, evidenced by the high number of comments in the physical attribution category and low number of comments for positive motivation.

Other attribution categories.

The null hypothesis was accepted in the five remaining attribution categories. Rainville and McCormick (1977) rejected the null hypothesis in the cognitive attribution (positive) category at the .001 level.

Rainville and McCormick (1977) and Jackson (1989) found differences in frequency rating in the cognitive attribution (positive) category. Rainville and McCormick (1977) found whites to receive 61% of the comments in this category. Jackson (1989) found white college basketball players to outnumber blacks approximately 4 to 1 in "brains" comments and 3 to 1 in professional football. Although statistically not significant, in this study whites received 54.05% of the 37 cognitive attribution (positive) comments. This suggested a possible trend towards covert racism based on the frequency rating.

Although there were only 10 charted language comments in the cognitive attribution (negative) category, it was interesting that only one of these was charted for whites. This compares to Jackson (1989) who found black college basketball players to outnumber whites four to one in what he termed "dunce" comments. Rainville and McCormick (1977) found whites to receive 63% of these comments. The findings

in this study suggest that blacks are more likely to be criticized for making mental mistakes than whites.

Summary of attribution class.

The results from the analysis of the attribution class provided a significant difference in the physical attribution category. This suggests that announcers viewed blacks as successful because of their physical attributes. This class also suggested that blacks were more likely to be criticized for mental mistakes than whites based on the frequency rating. White players were more likely to be credited with hard work and motivation than blacks.

Announcer Related Class

The announcer related class included categories where the announcers expressed their personal view towards the players.

The null hypothesis was not rejected in any of the categories in this class, as no significant statistical differences were found. Rainville and McCormick (1977) found significant differences in 4 of the announcer related class categories. They found differences at the .05 level for sympathy and negative speculation, the .01 level for special focus(positive), and the .001 level for the positive speculation category.

Whites received 60.98% of the 123 comments charted in the special focus (positive) category. Although not

statistically significant, this suggested that the announcers and/or networks were more likely to replay and focus on a good play of a white than that of a black.

Blacks received 58.97% of the 39 comments in the negative speculation category, compared to the 64% found by Rainville and McCormick (1977). The announcers were more likely to tell viewers about the anticipated bad performances of black players.

There were only 5 comments charted in the sympathy category and no comments were charted in the empathy category.

Summary of the announcer related class.

The null hypothesis was not rejected in this class. Trends toward covert racism were suggested in the special focus (positive) and negative speculation categories based on frequency ratings.

Discussion of Classes

Based on frequency of comments per category, whites were more likely to receive comments related to play related praise, positive speculation, and special focus (positive) than in other categories. This suggested that the announcers were building positive images of the white players by complimenting their play, predicting good results, and focusing on the good plays made by whites. Blacks were more likely to receive comments related to play related praise,

positive speculation, and physical attribution than in other categories.

By referring to the physical attribution of blacks, the announcers were crediting black players successes to their physical skills. It was not uncommon for an announcer to praise a black player for a great play immediately followed by a reference to a physical attribute. Appendix F shows the percentage of comments for each category based on the total number of comments charted for blacks and whites. Appendix G shows the percentage of comments for each category of whites based on the total number of comments charted for whites, and the percentage for blacks based on the total number of black comments.

Based on frequency ratings, whites were least likely to receive comments related to cognitive attribution (negative), play unrelated praise, and reference to non-collegiate past achievement (negative). Based on frequency ratings, blacks were least likely to receive comments related to play unrelated praise, sympathy, and motivation (negative). Since there were a very limited number of comments charted from these categories, it was difficult to establish conclusions associated with these categories.

Whites received a higher frequency of language comments than blacks in eight of the "positive" categories. These categories were: play related praise, play unrelated praise,

favorable comparison, cognitive attribution (positive), emotional attribution (positive), motivation (positive), positive speculation, and special focus (positive). Blacks received more comments in only two of the positive categories: reference to collegiate past achievement (positive) and reference to non-collegiate past achievement (positive). There were only eleven total comments in the reference to non-collegiate achievement (positive) category.

Blacks received more comments in seven of the "negative" categories: play related criticism, reference to collegiate past achievement (negative), unfavorable comparison, cognitive attribution (negative), emotional attribution (negative), negative speculation, and special focus (negative). Whites received 50% of the comments in only one of the negative categories. This compares to findings by Pritchard (1985) and Dates (1990), who found blacks to be covered negatively by the press. Based on the frequency ratings in the "positive" and "negative" categories, the announcers were more likely to make positive comments about white players and negative comments about players.

Announcers

The language comments were charted separately for each of the two announcers. This was done to look at any possible trends toward covert racism from either announcer. It was

difficult to analyze any trends since the color commentator made 1102 of the 1640 charted language comments. Therefore, no conclusion was made concerning covert racism for play-by-play announcers as a group and color commentators as a group. Appendix H shows a frequency breakdown by category of the comments made by each announcer. Appendices I, J and K show a frequency breakdown of comments made by each announcer about whites. Appendices L, M and N show a frequency breakdown for comments made about blacks.

In the 23 games recorded for analysis, there were 12 different play-by-play announcers and nine color commentators. For a breakdown of the number of players each announcer commentated on see Appendix O.

This study also included an examination of differences or patterns between white and black announcers. In the 23 games, which included 46 announcers, there were only two black color commentators. With only two black announcers, there was no evidence of patterns toward covert racism found between the races of the announcers.

Summary

Based on the chi-square analysis, significant differences were discovered at the .001 level in two categories. The null hypothesis was rejected in two of the 23 categories. Blacks received significantly more comments for reference to collegiate past achievement (negative) and

physical attribution than whites. Based on frequency rating comparison to the Rainville and McCormick (1977) study, there were trends toward covert racism in 15 categories. They were: play related praise, play related criticism, reference to collegiate past achievement (positive), executor of aggression, favorable comparison, unfavorable comparison, cognitive attribution (positive), cognitive attribution (negative), emotional attribution (positive), emotional attribution (negative), motivation (positive), positive speculation, negative speculation, special focus (positive), and special focus (negative). The representative language comments used by the announcers was more favorable when describing whites. Blacks were more likely to have unfavorable or negative comments used by the announcers to describe them.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The first section of this chapter provides conclusions based on the results and discussion in the Results, Analysis and Discussion chapter. The conclusions reflect the degree of covert racial prejudice in college basketball announcers' speech based on the purpose of the study as described in Chapter One. The second section of this chapter discusses the recommendations to improve the use of this measurement technique and possibilities for further study.

Conclusions

In the present study an attempt was made to determine if language comments charted by trained observers would reveal covert racial discrimination from college basketball announcers speech patterns. Based on the data discussed in Chapter Four, it can be concluded that there are traces of covert racial prejudice in the speech used by college basketball announcers. This can be compared to the results found by Rainville and McCormick (1977). Significant differences exist in two categories and the trends towards covert racism in 15 categories based on frequency rating differences and representative language comments.

Many factors may have influenced the results. One such factor may have been the sample group employed in the study.

The sample size of this study was relatively small. Significant differences may have existed in many of the categories with a greater number of language comments, but with a low number of charted comments any determination of differences would go undetected because so little statistical power is in the sample size. A second factor that may have influenced the results of this study is associated with the interpretations and charting of comments by the observers. They may have charted language comments differently than those who observed for Rainville and McCormick(1977)

Rainville and McCormick (1977) observed professional football, which may have had comments that were easier to categorize. Some of the comments were not subjective in nature and did not fall into categories easily. Also, the announcers may be making sensitized efforts to be racially unbiased in light of the Al Campanis (Berkow, 1988) and Jimmy "the Greek" (Rowe, 1988) events that received widespread publicity in the last few years.

A third factor could have been the use and interpretation of the alpha level. This study intended to use a .05 alpha level. The researcher viewed the announcers as the subjects and each category as a test. In order to strengthen the study and reduce the risk of a Type I error, the probability of rejecting a true null hypothesis, the alpha level was divided by 25, the number of categories or

"tests" that the subjects were put through. This resulted in an alpha level of .001 and a rejection of the null hypothesis in only 2 of the 25 categories. This could have led to a Type II error, the probability of failing to reject a false null hypothesis. Rainville and McCormick (1977), on the other hand, viewed each category as independent and did not divide their alpha levels. This increased their chances of a Type I error. They rejected the null hypothesis in 11 of the 25 categories, six rejections were at the .001 level. If this study followed the protocol for alpha levels set forth by Rainville and McCormick (1977), the null hypothesis would have been rejected in eight of the 25 categories. This would have provided more statistical data to conclude that there was covert racism used by the announcers.

A conclusion made from the findings in this study is that there are trends towards covert racism in the language comments used by college basketball announcers to describe the play of blacks and whites. This is based on the rejection of the null hypothesis in two categories, percentage frequency differences in 15 categories, and an analysis of the representative language comments, which showed evidence of stereotyping.

The covert racism in the language used by the announcers can shape viewers expectations of the athletes. The subjects in the Rainville et al. (1977) study support this notion.

Society is acculturated and impacted by the language heard on television and radio, and by what is read in newspapers and magazines. Many of the announcers are former players and coaches who bring their bias and stereotypes into announcing.

The language by announcers also influences the athletes. Many of the athletes record their games aired on television for later viewing. The players internalize stereotypes. They are sensitive to the remarks made about them and try to perform to the announcer's expectations. Many newspapers reporters and professional scouts are also influenced by the language used by announcers. These racist stereotypes may support the theory of stacking in sports.

Recommendations

There are several recommendations for future study:

1. Replicate this study and increase the number of players to be analyzed for language comments and/or increase the number of games for selected players to participate in. This would increase the statistical power of the study, consequently.
2. Replicate this study and script the comments made by the announcers. This would allow the observers to read the comments and avoid some of the noise problems associated with watching a videotape. The observers would not know the race

watching a videotape. The observers would not know the race of the players being analyzed for language comments. This would eliminate any subconscious racism of the observers when charting comments.

3. Professional basketball should be studied and compared to the findings of this study for covert racism in announcers' language comments.

4. Women's college basketball should also be studied and compared to this study for covert racism and sexism.

5. A similar study can also be applied to professional baseball, college and professional football, and perhaps the Olympic Games.

6. Establish a study to specifically compare the language comments of black and white announcers.

7. Establish a study to specifically compare the language comments of announcers who were former players and former coaches.

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APPENDICES

Observer Language Comment Chart

Player:		Race:		Race:	
Race:		Race:		Race:	
Position:		Rating		Play by play	
Category		Frequency		Commentator	
		Ns		Commentator	
				Color	
				Commentator	
Play Related Praise	Description				
Play Unrelated Praise					
Play Related Criticism					
Play Unrelated Criticism					
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)					
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)					
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)					
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)					
Recipient of Aggression					
Executor of Aggression					
Favorable Comparison					
Unfavorable Comparison					
	Attribution				
Physical Attribution					
Cognitive Attribution (Positive)					
Emotional Attribution (Positive)					
Cognitive Attribution (Negative)					
Emotional Attribution (Negative)					
Motivation (Positive)					
Motivation (Negative)					
	Announcer Related				
Sympathy					
Empathy					
Positive Speculation					
Negative Speculation					
Special Focus (Positive)					
Special Focus (Negative)					
Observer's name:					

Observer Agreement Totals

OBSERVER AGREEMENT-TOTALS					O #1		O #2	
Category	Description	Rating Frequency Ns	Total		Total		Total	
	Play Related Praise	737	49.80%	367	50.20%	370		
	Play Unrelated Praise	6	50.00%	3	50.00%	3		
	Play Related Criticism	152	48.68%	74	51.32%	78		
	Play Unrelated Criticism	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0		
	Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	267	51.69%	138	48.31%	129		
	Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	20	55.00%	11	45.00%	9		
	Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	73	49.32%	36	50.68%	37		
	Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	11	45.45%	5	54.55%	6		
	Recipient of Aggression	166	49.40%	82	50.60%	84		
	Executor of Aggression	140	50.71%	71	49.29%	69		
	Favorable Comparison	118	50.85%	60	49.15%	58		
	Unfavorable Comparison	74	51.35%	38	48.65%	36		
	Attribution							
	Physical Attribution	216	48.61%	105	51.39%	111		
	Cognitive Attribution (Positive)	73	50.68%	37	49.32%	36		
	Emotional Attribution (Positive)	189	49.21%	93	50.79%	96		
	Cognitive Attribution (Negative)	19	52.63%	10	47.37%	9		
	Emotional Attribution (Negative)	45	48.89%	22	51.11%	23		
	Motivation (Positive)	91	52.75%	48	47.25%	43		
	Motivation (Negative)	12	50.00%	6	50.00%	6		
	Announcer Related							
	Sympathy	9	44.44%	4	55.56%	5		
	Empathy	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0		
	Positive Speculation	455	51.43%	234	48.57%	221		
	Negative Speculation	78	51.28%	40	48.72%	38		
	Special Focus (Positive)	244	50.41%	123	49.59%	121		
	Special Focus (Negative)	61	47.54%	29	52.46%	32		
		3256	49.98%	1636	49.50%	1620		

Observer Agreement-Blacks

OBSERVER AGREEMENT-BLACKS

Category	Rating Frequency Ns	R	% O #1	S	% O #2
Description					
Play Related Praise	320	157	49.06%	163	50.94%
Play Unrelated Praise	2	1	50.00%	1	50.00%
Play Related Criticism	81	43	53.09%	38	46.91%
Play Unrelated Criticism	0		0.00%		0.00%
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	142	73	51.41%	69	48.59%
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	13	6	46.15%	7	53.85%
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	61	30	49.18%	31	50.82%
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	7	4	57.14%	3	42.86%
Recipient of Aggression	83	42	50.60%	41	49.40%
Executor of Aggression	92	44	47.83%	48	52.17%
Favorable Comparison	48	25	52.08%	23	47.92%
Unfavorable Comparison	53	26	49.06%	27	50.94%
Attribution					
Physical Attribution (Positive)	148	75	50.68%	73	49.32%
Cognitive Attribution (Positive)	34	16	47.06%	18	52.94%
Emotional Attribution (Positive)	85	44	51.76%	41	48.24%
Cognitive Attribution (Negative)	17	7	41.18%	10	58.82%
Emotional Attribution (Negative)	31	16	51.61%	15	48.39%
Motivation (Positive)	26	12	46.15%	14	53.85%
Motivation (Negative)	6	4	66.67%	2	33.33%
Announcer Related					
Sympathy	4	2	50.00%	2	50.00%
Empathy	0		0.00%		0.00%
Positive Speculation	221	107	48.42%	114	51.58%
Negative Speculation	46	24	52.17%	22	47.83%
Special Focus (Positive)	95	49	51.58%	46	48.42%
Special Focus (Negative)	35	18	51.43%	17	48.57%
	1650	825	50.00%	825	50.00%

Observer Agreement-Whites

OBSERVER AGREEMENT-WHITES

Category

Rating O #1 % O #2 %
Frequency Ns

Description

Play Related Praise	417	208	49.88%	209	50.12%
Play Unrelated Praise	4	2	50.00%	2	50.00%
Play Related Criticism	71	35	49.30%	36	50.70%
Play Unrelated Criticism	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	125	58	46.40%	67	53.60%
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	7	3	42.86%	4	57.14%
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	12	7	58.33%	5	41.67%
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	4	3	75.00%	1	25.00%
Recipient of Aggression	83	42	50.60%	41	49.40%
Executor of Aggression	48	25	52.08%	23	47.92%
Favorable Comparison	70	33	47.14%	37	52.86%
Unfavorable Comparison	21	10	47.62%	11	52.38%

Attribution

Physical Attribution	68	36	52.94%	32	47.06%
Cognitive Attribution (Positive)	39	20	51.28%	19	48.72%
Emotional Attribution (Positive)	104	52	50.00%	52	50.00%
Cognitive Attribution (Negative)	2	2	100.00%	0	0.00%
Emotional Attribution (Negative)	14	7	50.00%	7	50.00%
Motivation (Positive)	65	31	47.69%	34	52.31%
Motivation (Negative)	6	4	66.67%	2	33.33%

Announcer Related

Sympathy	5	3	60.00%	2	40.00%
Empathy	0	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Positive Speculation	234	114	48.72%	120	51.28%
Negative Speculation	32	14	43.75%	18	56.25%
Special Focus (Positive)	149	72	48.32%	77	51.68%
Special Focus (Negative)	26	14	53.85%	12	46.15%
	1606	795	49.50%	811	50.50%

Total Comments-Black and White Players

TOTAL COMMENTS-BLACKS AND WHITES									
NCAA Games Percentage of Comments per Category									
Category	Rating Frequency Ns	Total Comments	# White Comments	# Black Comments	# Total Comments	# Black Comments	# Chi-Square		
Description									
Play Related Praise	369	12.74%	209	160	9.76%		6.5068		
Play Unrelated Praise	3	0.12%	2	1	0.06%		1.3333		
Play Related Criticism	77	2.20%	36	41	2.50%		0.3247		
Play Unrelated Criticism	0	0.00%	0	0	0.00%				
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	134	3.84%	63	71	4.33%		0.4776		
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	11	0.24%	4	7	0.43%		4.5		
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	37	0.37%	6	31	1.89%		*16.8919		
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	6	0.12%	2	4	0.24%		0.6667		
Recipient of Aggression	84	2.56%	42	42	2.56%		0		
Executor of Aggression	70	1.46%	24	46	2.80%		6.9143		
Favorable Comparison	59	2.13%	35	24	1.46%		2.0508		
Unfavorable Comparison	39	0.73%	12	27	1.65%		5.7692		
Attribution									
Physical Attribution	108	2.07%	34	74	4.51%		*14.8148		
Cognitive Attribution (Positive)	37	1.22%	20	17	1.04%		3		
Emotional Attribution (Positive)	95	3.17%	52	43	2.62%		0.8526		
Cognitive Attribution (Negative)	10	0.06%	1	9	0.55%		6.4		
Emotional Attribution (Negative)	23	0.43%	7	16	0.98%		4.84		
Motivation (Positive)	46	2.01%	33	13	0.79%		8.6957		
Motivation (Negative)	6	0.18%	3	3	0.18%		0		
Announcer Related									
Sympathy	5	0.18%	3	2	0.12%		0.5		
Empathy	0	0.00%	0	0	0.00%				
Positive Speculation	228	7.13%	117	111	6.77%		0.1579		
Negative Speculation	39	0.98%	16	23	1.40%		1.2564		
Special Focus (Positive)	123	4.57%	75	48	2.93%		5		
Special Focus (Negative)	31	0.79%	13	18	1.10%		0.8065		
	1640	49.33%	809	831	50.67%		0.2951		

* significant at p<.001

Total Comments-Black and White Players

TOTAL COMMENTS-BLACKS AND WHITES

NCAA Games Percentage of Comments per Category

Category

	Rating Frequency Ns	% White Comments	# White Comments	% Black Comments	# Black Comments	Chi- Square
Description						
Play Related Praise	369	56.64%	209	43.36%	160	6.5068
Play Unrelated Praise	3	66.67%	2	33.33%	1	1.3333
Play Related Criticism	77	46.75%	36	53.25%	41	0.3247
Play Unrelated Criticism	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	134	47.01%	63	52.99%	71	0.4776
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	11	36.36%	4	63.64%	7	4.5
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	37	16.22%	6	83.78%	31	*16.8919
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	6	33.33%	2	66.67%	4	0.6667
Recipient of Aggression	84	50.00%	42	50.00%	42	0
Executor of Aggression	70	34.29%	24	65.71%	46	6.9143
Favorable Comparison	59	59.32%	35	40.68%	24	2.0508
Unfavorable Comparison	39	30.77%	12	69.23%	27	5.7692
Attribution						
Physical Attribution	108	31.48%	34	68.52%	74	*14.8148
Cognitive Attribution (Positive)	37	54.05%	20	45.95%	17	0.2432
Emotional Attribution (Positive)	95	54.74%	52	45.26%	43	0.8526
Cognitive Attribution (Negative)	10	10.00%	1	90.00%	9	6.4
Emotional Attribution (Negative)	23	30.43%	7	69.57%	16	4.84
Motivation (Positive)	46	71.74%	33	28.26%	13	8.6957
Motivation (Negative)	6	50.00%	3	50.00%	3	0
Announcer Related						
Sympathy	5	60.00%	3	40.00%	2	0.5
Empathy	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0
Positive Speculation	228	51.32%	117	48.68%	111	0.1579
Negative Speculation	39	41.03%	16	58.97%	23	1.2564
Special Focus (Positive)	123	60.98%	75	39.02%	48	5
Special Focus (Negative)	31	41.94%	13	58.06%	18	0.8065
	1640	49.33%	809	50.67%	831	0.2951

* significant at <p.001

Total Comments-Black and White Players

TOTAL COMMENTS-BLACKS AND WHITES						
NCAA Games Percentage of Comments per Category			Rating Frequency Ns	% of total White Comments	% of total Black Comments	# Black Comments
Category						Chi-Square
Description						
Play Related Praise	369	25.83%	209	19.25%	160	6.5068
Play Unrelated Praise	3	0.25%	2	0.12%	1	1.3333
Play Related Criticism	77	4.45%	36	4.93%	41	0.3247
Play Unrelated Criticism	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	134	7.79%	63	8.54%	71	0.4776
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	11	0.49%	4	0.84%	7	4.5
Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	37	0.74%	6	3.73%	31	*16.8919
Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	6	0.25%	2	0.48%	4	0.6667
Recipient of Aggression	84	5.19%	42	5.05%	42	0
Executor of Aggression	70	2.97%	24	5.54%	46	6.9143
Favorable Comparison	59	4.33%	35	2.89%	24	2.0508
Unfavorable Comparison	39	1.48%	12	3.25%	27	5.7692
Attribution						
Physical Attribution	108	4.20%	34	8.90%	74	*14.8148
Cognitive Attribution (Positive)	37	2.47%	20	2.05%	17	3
Emotional Attribution (Positive)	95	6.43%	52	5.17%	43	0.8526
Cognitive Attribution (Negative)	10	0.12%	1	1.08%	9	6.4
Emotional Attribution (Negative)	23	0.87%	7	1.93%	16	4.84
Motivation (Positive)	46	4.08%	33	1.56%	13	8.6957
Motivation (Negative)	6	0.37%	3	0.36%	3	0
Announcer Related						
Sympathy	5	0.37%	3	0.24%	2	0.5
Empathy	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	
Positive Speculation	228	14.46%	117	13.36%	111	0.1579
Negative Speculation	39	1.98%	16	2.77%	23	1.2564
Special Focus (Positive)	123	9.27%	75	5.78%	48	5
Special Focus (Negative)	31	1.61%	13	2.17%	18	0.8065
	1640	100.00%	809	100.00%	831	0.2951

* significant at $p < .001$

Comments made by Announcers for Blacks and Whites

COMMENTS MADE BY COLOR COMMENTATORS AND PLAY BY PLAY ANNOUNCERS-BLACKS AND WHITES									
Category	Description	Rating Frequency Ns	Comment		Total Play By Play	Total Play By Play	Comment Color	Total Color	%
			Play	By					
Category	Description	369	125	7.7%	244	15.1%			
		3	1	0.1%	2	0.1%			
		77	30	1.9%	47	2.9%			
		0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
		134	67	4.1%	67	4.1%			
		11	5	0.3%	6	0.4%			
		37	16	1.0%	21	1.3%			
		6	0	0.0%	6	0.4%			
		84	39	2.4%	45	2.8%			
		46	29	1.8%	17	1.1%			
		59	18	1.1%	41	2.5%			
		39	18	1.1%	21	1.3%			
Category	Attribution	108	36	2.2%	72	4.5%			
		37	7	0.4%	30	1.9%			
		95	28	1.7%	67	4.1%			
		10	1	0.1%	9	0.6%			
		23	8	0.5%	15	0.9%			
		46	10	0.6%	36	2.2%			
		6	0	0.0%	6	0.4%			
Category	Announcer Related	5	1	0.1%	4	0.2%			
		0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
		228	55	3.4%	173	10.7%			
		39	12	0.7%	27	1.7%			
		123	26	1.6%	97	6.0%			
		31	6	0.4%	25	1.5%			
		1616	538	33.3%	1078	66.7%			

COMMENTS MADE BY ANNOUNCERS-WHITE PLAYERS

COMMENTS MADE BY ANNOUNCERS WHILE PLAYING

Category	Description	Rating Frequency Ns	Race:			Race:			Total Color
			Comment Play By Play	Comment Play By Play	Total Play	Comment Color	Total Play		
Play Related Praise	Play Related Praise	209	69	33%	140	67%			
	Play Unrelated Praise	2	0	0%	2	100%			
	Play Related Criticism	36	17	47%	19	53%			
	Play Unrelated Criticism	0	0	0%	0	0%			
	Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	63	30	48%	33	52%			
	Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	4	2	50%	2	50%			
	Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	6	4	67%	2	33%			
	Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	2	0	0%	2	100%			
	Recipient of Aggression	42	18	43%	24	57%			
	Executor of Aggression	24	7	29%	17	71%			
	Favorable Comparison	35	9	26%	26	74%			
	Unfavorable Comparison	12	5	42%	7	58%			
Attribution	Physical Attribution	0							
	Cognitive Attribution (Positive)	34	15	44%	19	56%			
	Emotional Attribution (Positive)	20	3	15%	17	85%			
	Cognitive Attribution (Negative)	52	15	29%	37	71%			
	Emotional Attribution (Negative)	1	0	0%	1	100%			
	Motivation (Positive)	7	5	71%	2	29%			
	Motivation (Negative)	33	6	18%	27	82%			
		3	0	0%	3	100%			
		0							
		0							
		3	1	33%	2	67%			
	Announcer Related	Sympathy	0						
Empathy		0	0	0%	0	0%			
Positive Speculation		117	34	29%	83	71%			
Negative Speculation		16	3	19%	13	81%			
Special Focus (Positive)		75	15	20%	60	80%			
Special Focus (Negative)		13	2	15%	11	85%			
		809	260	32%	549	68%			

Total Comments-White Players

TOTAL COMMENTS-WHITE PLAYERS										
Category	Rating Frequency Ns	WHITES		% WHITES		Total Comment Color	% Total Color			
		Comment Play By	Total Play By	Comment Play By	Total Play By					
Description	209	69	8.5%	140	17.3%					
	2	0	0.0%	2	0.2%					
	36	17	2.1%	19	2.3%					
	0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%					
	63	30	3.7%	33	4.1%					
	4	2	0.2%	2	0.2%					
	6	4	0.5%	2	0.2%					
	2	0	0.0%	2	0.2%					
	42	18	2.2%	24	3.0%					
	24	7	0.9%	17	2.1%					
	35	9	1.1%	26	3.2%					
	12	5	0.6%	7	0.9%					
	Attribution	34	15	1.9%	19	2.3%				
		20	3	0.4%	17	2.1%				
52		15	1.9%	37	4.6%					
1		0	0.0%	1	0.1%					
7		5	0.6%	2	0.2%					
33		6	0.7%	27	3.3%					
3		0	0.0%	3	0.4%					
3		1	0.1%	2	0.2%					
0		0	0.0%	0	0.0%					
117		34	4.2%	83	10.3%					
Announcer Related	16	3	0.4%	13	1.6%					
	75	15	1.9%	60	7.4%					
	13	2	0.2%	11	1.4%					
	809	260	32.1%	549	67.9%					

Comments made by Announcers-Black Players

COMMENTS BY ANNOUNCERS-BLACK PLAYERS

Category	Description	Rating Frequency Ns	Comment Play By Play	% Play By Play	Comment Color	% Color
	Play Related Praise	160	56	35%	104	65%
	Play Unrelated Praise	1	1	100%	0	0%
	Play Related Criticism	41	13	32%	28	68%
	Play Unrelated Criticism	0		0%		0%
	Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	71	37	52%	34	48%
	Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive)	7	3	43%	4	57%
	Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	31	12	39%	19	61%
	Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative)	4		0%	4	100%
	Recipient of Aggression	42	21	50%	21	50%
	Executor of Aggression	46	22	48%	24	52%
	Favorable Comparison	24	9	38%	15	63%
	Unfavorable Comparison	27	13	48%	14	52%
	Attribution					
	Physical Attribution	74	21	28%	53	72%
	Cognitive Attribution (Positive)	17	4	24%	13	76%
	Emotional Attribution (Positive)	43	13	30%	30	70%
	Cognitive Attribution (Negative)	9	1	11%	8	89%
	Emotional Attribution (Negative)	16	3	19%	13	81%
	Motivation (Positive)	13	4	31%	9	69%
	Motivation (Negative)	3		0%	3	100%
	Announcer Related					
	Sympathy	2		0%	2	100%
	Empathy	0		0%		0%
	Positive Speculation	111	21	19%	90	81%
	Negative Speculation	23	9	39%	14	61%
	Special Focus (Positive)	48	11	23%	37	77%
	Special Focus (Negative)	18	4	22%	14	78%
		831	278	33%	553	67%

Comments made by Announcers-Black Players

COMMENTS BY ANNOUNCERS-BLACK PLAYERS

Category	Description	Rating Frequency Ns	Comment		Total Play By Play	Comment Color	Total Color	%
			Play By Play	Play By Play				
Play Related Praise Play Unrelated Praise Play Related Criticism Play Unrelated Criticism Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive) Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive) Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative) Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative) Recipient of Aggression Executor of Aggression Favorable Comparison Unfavorable Comparison	Description	160	56	6.7%	104	12.5%		
		1	1	0.1%	0	0.0%		
		41	13	1.6%	28	3.4%		
		0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%		
		71	37	4.5%	34	4.1%		
		7	3	0.4%	4	0.5%		
		31	12	1.4%	19	2.3%		
		4	0	0.0%	4	0.5%		
		42	21	2.5%	21	2.5%		
		46	22	2.6%	24	2.9%		
		24	9	1.1%	15	1.8%		
		27	13	1.6%	14	1.7%		
Physical Attribution Cognitive Attribution (Positive) Emotional Attribution (Positive) Cognitive Attribution (Negative) Emotional Attribution (Negative) Motivation (Positive) Motivation (Negative)	Attribution	74	21	2.5%	53	6.4%		
		17	4	0.5%	13	1.6%		
		43	13	1.6%	30	3.6%		
		9	1	0.1%	8	1.0%		
		16	3	0.4%	13	1.6%		
		13	4	0.5%	9	1.1%		
		3	0	0.0%	3	0.4%		
Sympathy Empathy Positive Speculation Negative Speculation Special Focus (Positive) Special Focus (Negative)	Announcer Related	2	0	0.0%	2	0.2%		
		0	0	0.0%	0	0.0%		
		111	21	2.5%	90	10.8%		
		23	9	1.1%	14	1.7%		
		48	11	1.3%	37	4.5%		
		18	4	0.5%	14	1.7%		
		831	278	33.5%	553	66.5%		

Comments made by Announcers-Black Players

COMMENTS BY ANNOUNCERS-BLACK PLAYERS

Category	Description	Rating Frequency Ns	By		Total Color	Total Color
			Commentator	Play	Commentator	Color
Play Related Praise Play Unrelated Praise Play Related Criticism Play Unrelated Criticism Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive) Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Positive) Reference to Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative) Reference to Non-Collegiate Past Achievement (Negative) Recipient of Aggression Executor of Aggression Favorable Comparison Unfavorable Comparison	Description	160	56	20%	104	19%
		1	1	0%	0	0%
		41	13	5%	28	5%
		0	0	0%	0	0%
		71	37	13%	34	6%
		7	3	1%	4	1%
		31	12	4%	19	3%
		4	0	0%	4	1%
		42	21	8%	21	4%
		46	22	8%	24	4%
		24	9	3%	15	3%
		27	13	5%	14	3%
Physical Attribution Cognitive Attribution (Positive) Emotional Attribution (Positive) Cognitive Attribution (Negative) Emotional Attribution (Negative) Motivation (Positive) Motivation (Negative)	Attribution	74	21	8%	53	10%
		17	4	1%	13	2%
		43	13	5%	30	5%
		9	1	0%	8	1%
		16	3	1%	13	2%
		13	4	1%	9	2%
		3	0	0%	3	1%
Sympathy Empathy Positive Speculation Negative Speculation Special Focus (Positive) Special Focus (Negative)	Announcer Related	2	0	0%	2	0%
		0	0	0%	0	0%
		111	21	8%	90	16%
		23	9	3%	14	3%
		48	11	4%	37	7%
		18	4	1%	14	3%
		831	278	100%	553	100%

Announcers Breakdown

Announcer Breakdown

Play-by-play Announcer	Number of players commentented on
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#1	10
#2	6
#3	4
#4	4
#5	3
#6	3
#7	3
#8	2
#9	2
#10	1
#11	1
#12	1

Color Commentator

#1	11
#2	10
#3	4
#4	4
#5	4
#6	3
#7	2
#8	1
#9	1